

CLATSOP COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

CUMTUX



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COVER:

Model of the Columbia Rediviva on exhibit at the
Clatsop County Historical Society,
photography by Jim Dennon.

Astorian Printing Co.

*CUMTUX: Chinook jargon:
"To know . . . acknowledge . . . to inform."*

**In Memorial:
Clatsop County Historical Society
Remembers**

James Lee "Jim" Dennon

Our Valued Staff Editor and Friend.

**We dedicate to his memory
this, his last issue, and the many editorial
achievements he has left to us.**

Jim Dennon was born in Scottsbluff, Nebraska and moved to Cannon Beach, Oregon as a young child with his family. He attended Cannon Beach Grade School and graduated from Seaside High School. He was involved extensively with computers throughout his career; first as a dispatcher for the Seaside Police Department and then in the computer department for Weyerhaeuser Company in Tacoma, Washington.

Jim returned to Seaside in 1982 and became an avid member of the Historical Society working in the archives as a volunteer, associating with the newly-formed Genealogy Society, and authoring many manuscripts and booklets on local families and landmarks in Clatsop County. He located the maps and researched cemetery records and headstones. He wrote the description and location of headstones in his books, Clatsop Plains Pioneer Cemetery 1987, the Evergreen Cemetery in Seaside, Oregon, 1987 and finally his excellent publication, The Schooner Shark, Shark Rock and Cannon Beach, 1988.

In 1988, Jim became editor of the Clatsop County Historical Society quarterly, CUMTUX. With his talent as an historian and researcher, complimented by his computer expertise, he produced a professional quality journal.

He was a dedicated and devoted historian, and his works will be a lasting memorial to his life.

The Chinooks and The Clatsops

Evelyn Hankel

May 11, 1792 dawned fresh and new with the promise of an early summer greeting the settlements on the shores of the great river that flowed powerfully into the peaceful sea.

Who were these native people who dwelt on each shore at the mouth of this newly-found waterway inland to western America? The sailing schooner, *Columbia Rediviva*, surviving a rough, treacherous bar, now hove into view startling this nation of men, women, and children who knew only by hearsay from relatives down coast of these strange craft many times the size of their own ocean-going dugouts.

The people on the north side of the river with a tribal name, Ts!inu'k referred to themselves as "the people." They would soon be called "Chinooks," as the name was anglicized, by those who came in the strange vessel.

On the south side of the river were the villages of the T!lat'sups, whose name became Clatsops in the same way. These were also Chinookan family relatives as were the Salish tribe, the T!ile'muks (Tillamooks), who lived just south of the Clatsops. The two southern tribes acknowledged the rule of the Chinook chiefs who held sway up and down the big river from the place where the "river fell in a rocky hole"(falls) clear to the sea.

The coast people spoke a similar language with slight variations. The Chinook language was studied in-depth by Franz Boaz who lived with a

member of the tribe for two years and recorded all the sounds. The man was called Clutee and spoke two dialects, Chinook and Kathlamet. Boaz compiled all in a volume, *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, published in 1910.

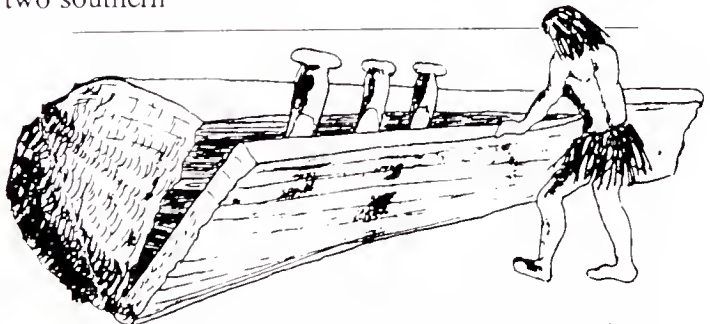
Note: All native language words are taken from the Boaz Handbook.

Chinook – Clatsop life

Living in nature's garden of plenty provided by both land and water, the Chinookans had little reason to battle and were not warriors. However, they raided nearby tribes for slaves, which they considered necessary to their life style. Slaves were held by the chiefs and upper class people and belonged to them to use for menial labor or to trade. One of the recorded battles occurred during the reign of Chief Komkomis (Comcomly's father) when northern tribes invaded the clam-beds of the Chinooks. Komkomis was the victor and returned with slaves taken from the conquered nation.

Dwellings were of Red Cedar

Captain Gray was probably not surprised by the sight of the villages of



Red cedar logs were split into planks with wooden wedges and used for the sides and roofs of dwellings. This work was done without the use of metal tools.

Illustration by Mary McDonald

long, wooden buildings bordering the river entrance, since he had spent time with the Nootka settlements and similar habitations in Vancouver Island. The houses of the North Coast Indians were laboriously constructed of the giant Red Cedar which grew almost exclusively in this area. The dwelling was seldom a single unit, but was home to a number of families, each having a fire pit and rows of shelves for sleeping and storing dried foods for the winter months. Tightly woven baskets and large shells served as cooking and serving utensils.

Clothing and food

Body coverings were simple. Here also the Red Cedar provided long strands of hanging bark that, when

shore gave forth a bountiful supply of clams, crab, oysters, mussels, other small shellfish, and fresh sea kelp of varied type. The men were seasoned fishermen adept at using nets for smaller fish, weirs and traps for larger fish, and the spear for the heavier salmon and sturgeon. Seals, sea lions, whales, and shark were not hunted but used if found beached.

Customs and Taboos

Of all of the customs of northwest peoples, none was so distinctive as the practice among the Chinookans aristocracy of flattening the forehead. Immediately after birth, the infant was placed in a hollowed-out, canoe-shaped small tree trunk lined with a soft moss.

The wooden head piece was strapped upon the baby's head. The baby was kept in this rigid position, only being removed for exercise and to change. The time spent in the cradle was about nine to twelve months, which was sufficient for the purpose of permanently flattening the upper forehead.

The Chinooks and Clatsops were careful to follow religious beliefs in every aspect of their culture, especially in respect to the salmon. They prepared the first fish of the season by slicing it from the head to

the tail, removing the skeleton, and tossing the bones back into the river. In this way the spirits of the salmon people who lived beneath the river would allow the salmon to return to the river the following season.

Many folk tales have been handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation and not many have been recorded. One tale of the Clatsops told by a Clatsop man,



Women's work included finding and preparing all the food for the family. This woman is preparing fish and venison by smoking them over a low fire.

Illustration by Mary McDonald

pounded, became a fabric to fashion skirts, capes, and protective lining in the infant cradles. Most of the people used no foot coverings in all weather, yet wore a light basket-weave reed hat in rainy weather.

Food was plentiful all year around and easily obtained with persistent search. The women and slaves had daily chores of supplying edible roots, nuts, berries, and greens. The beach and

Cullaby, to an Oregon historian, John Minto, has influenced this writer's works since discovered in an old copy of Oregon Teacher's Monthly of 1896. Not only is this story a realistic account of life among the Clatsop and Tillamook peoples, but a truly in-depth study of the mental and spiritual character of the tribe members.

From the Tale of Cullaby

Cullaby's grandparents, Ona, of the Tillamooks and her husband, Ramsey, a red-headed, shipwrecked sailor of a period of time shortly before the coming of Captain Gray's ship to the area of Tillamook Bay, had lived with Ona's family. A fight with the chief's son caused them to flee with Ona's parents to relatives among the Clatsops. There, Chief Katata gave them a hiding place on a lake (later called Cullaby). This wonderful story is found in its entirety in the spring, 1987 edition of *Cumtux* as written by Minto. The following portion of the story is from page 23 of that issue:

The Spotted Death

"For nearly ten years the life of Ona was very happy. A portion of the time each of those years was passed either at Quatat, on the Necanicum or on the Necoxie, but the shores of Cullaby Lake near the base of a small butte of clay soil on its west margin was their premanent home. As hunting the deer, elk or bear was the white man's favorite occupation, his choice of hunting ground was south of east of the lake, where these animals were to be found most plentifully. Sometimes for months he would camp by the head waters of the Netul (Lewis and Clark

River). When the large salmon came in from the sea in September or October, he loved, indeed, to spend a few days in catehing them in the Necanicum or Necoxie.

"In their season Ona always had an abundant supply of strawberries, salmonberries, cranberries and crab apples near at hand. For mats she could always obtain rushes near home, cedar bark not far away and bear grass on the higher land not far distant. With these



Artisans of the tribes would fashion skirts and capes and round basket-weave hats from the soft bark of the red cedar.

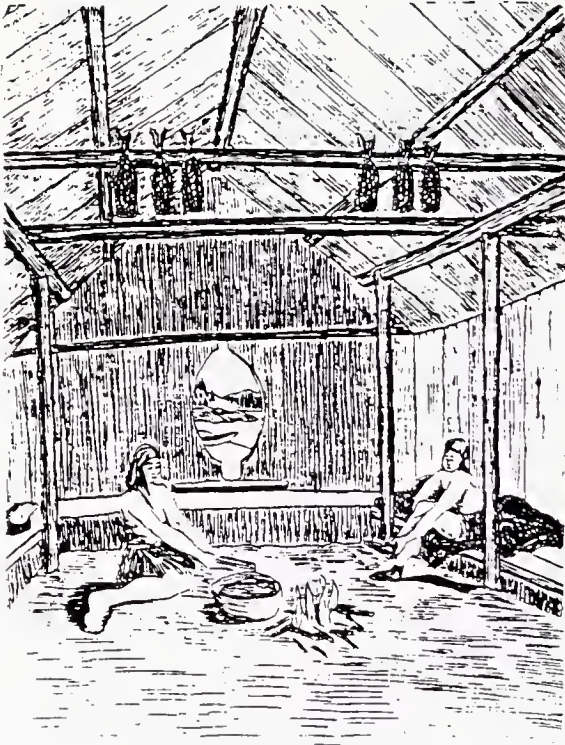
Illustration by Mary McDonald

she occupied much of her time, and her husband when he was not away on the hunt devoted much of his time in repairing his gun and those of the others. Soon after their arrival at their present home Ona's father and a party of Clatsops had returned to Tillamook and brought away the guns, swords and spearheads which the white man had hidden. To clean and repair these guns and weapons and to teach his Clatsop friends how to use them required most of his time. The guns often got out of repair and were as often returned to him to be mended. This work he continued to do until his death, after which his son

did the work and still later Cullaby, his grandson, became the gunsmith of the Clatsops, while he was yet quite young.

"The past ten years of happiness were to be followed by days of heartache for Ona. They began more than ten years before the Boston men (1792) brought the big ship into the great river. A ship very much like this one came close to the shore near the Nehalem, and some of its people made a landing in small boats. When they went away they left the two sick men who soon afterwards died. Soon many of the Tillamooks became sick in the same way. The disease caused their skins to turn very red and their faces to

As soon as the white man learned of it he went to Quatat but soon returned with the wife and family of his friend, the young chief. He informed Ona that she must take his friend's wife and two children and their own two children, a boy and a girl, and go to their furthest camp on the Netul where she should remain, if she could obtain food, until he joined her or she received a message from him. He charged her that his friend's wife with their children should keep to themselves, as their lives might depend on avoiding others. His eyes spoke to her more plainly than they had ever done before, and she saw fear in them for the first time.



Inside the wooden longhouse, each family had a space for a fire pit, shelves for sleeping and storage, and its own cooking utensils.

Illustration by Mary McDonald

"The white man went once more to Quatat to take care of the sick and the dead. The old chief soon died, and his son was taken with the deadly sickness. The white man gave him his whole and most devoted attention, but he died too as did also a younger half brother. His devoted care and undivided attention was of no avail. He then gave his aid to anyone in need of attention, and they were many. He advised those who were not yet sick to go to the highlands in small parties; many did so and some were saved from death by heeding his advice. So very many of the people died that the death wail for them was about the only sounds that could be heard for many days. The white man was

swell, making them almost blind. Many, many of them died and the faces of those who survived were left spotted ever afterwards.

"This deadly sickness soon reached the Clatsops from the Tillamook people.

at last stricken himself, but there were none to care for him. Many he had cared for and watched with some of whom had survived the dread disease. His life he had sacrificed for others, but he was left to die alone and uncared for

away from those who were most dear to him. All this Ona learned many months afterwards.

"Several years after the spotted death had ceased and healthful conditions were restored, Ona and her children returned to their lakeside home. During their absence they had become so accustomed to getting a living from the forest that they rarely went to the beach for food as had formerly been their custom. They, however, often received clams and fish from their friends who frequently visited them at the lake."

The Chinooks, Clatsops, and all coast tribes were noted for their skill in making canoes of cedar logs. Thirteen years after the arrival of Gray, Lewis and Clark would be recording life among the natives and marvelling at their craftsmanship in canoe making. Lewis and Clark reached the mouth of the big river in inferior crafts bartered from upper river folk. They were amazed at the dexterity with which the lower Chinooks navigated the rough and stormy waterways in their own dugouts and soon bartered for them.

To build his canoe, the Clatsop would hollow out a log, raking the chips to the center and burning them. The cavity was filled with water and red hot rocks were added to steam the wood as props were placed in to shape the

interior.

The Chinooks and Clatsops used bows and arrows, spears, traps, and pits. As noted in the Ona-Ramsey story, muskets had but recently been introduced to people in the Northwest. A hunter could seldom kill elk, deer or bear with a bow, so they dug pits along the elk trails, often behind a fallen tree. As the elk jumped the log, it would fall



The Chinookan's main source of food was the salmon which was speared, trapped, or netted by l'kala Na'wan, "man who fishes."

Illustration by Mary McDonald

into the pit and become trapped.

Nets and Hooks

For fishing, the net, hook, and line were made from natural materials. Small bones and shells were made into fish hooks; vines and grasses were fashioned into nets of all sizes and were also made into fish lines. From the

canoes, long poles with hooks were lowered to the river bottom to feel for and snag sturgeon. These pre-historic fish are large and known to be as much as eight feet long and weigh as much as 900 pounds. Getting the fish into the canoe was often difficult and, at times, sturgeon were lashed to the sides of the boat and dragged ashore. The women were also adept at fishing.

The King Fish

The Chinookans life and economy was nurtured around the big fish named for them: the Chinook (king) salmon which entered the river in spring runs from March through May. Guards were placed near the mouth of the river to watch for the milling fish and give the signal. The people were ready, having given obeisance to their god, E-can-ie. Dugouts were equipped with nets, spears, and the hooks needed for catching the fish. The first fish caught was split down the back, never cut across, then cooked and eaten before sunset that day. The heads and tails were also considered a delicacy. After feasting and dancing, the celebration was over and fishing began in earnest.

The summer and fall catch of salmon included the coho (silver), chum or dog salmon, the sockeye (blueback), humpback, or pink. The steelhead run in spring and winter were also caught and smoked.

As mentioned, the Sturgeon and royal Halibut were greatly desired. Whenever a whale washed up on the shore, Clatsops, Tillamuks, and the Chinooks from across the river all shared the rich blubber. Sea lion and seal were also used when caught. A most deriding epithet for a slave would be to be called "round head seal," since slaves could not have a flattened head.

Of the numerous kinds of smaller fish in the river and streams, one that was a valued product was the Eul-a-chon (candlefish or smelt) that swarmed in from the sea. These were highly prized when dried and pressed as

candles. The oil was traded with upper river people for the dried, pounded fish in large blocks, peculiar to tribes east of the Lower Chinooks.

Sea Shells Currency

The principal medium of exchange on the Northwest Coast was a long, bubular dentalia shell in two sizes. The short shell was called kupku'p in Chinook and the long shell was ckaqe'l, which, according to Boaz, was "of the length of 40 to the fathom." Since these shells were not found on Lower Columbia beaches, it is presumed that they were purchased by Chinook and Clatsop people from Nootka where they were found at Vancouver Bay. These were precious currency and jewels used in exchange with upper river folk. The shells were easily obtained during the winter sojourn to the Nootka area for trade and purchase.

A common practice was the Potlatch, derived from the Nootka word pat-shatl, meaning "giving." This was an important part of tribal life: a man of wealth would entertain members of the tribe during certain occasions, such as a marriage, a coming of age ceremony, or to remove a tabu against the host. He would free slaves or distribute (or even destroy) his belongings in front of the tribe. The man who gave many potlatches was then considered a great man in the eyes of his people.

Most Chinookans had a very positive religious belief and life was guided by the benevolence and the anger of the deity. They believed in spirit beings of nature including the beaver, eagle, raven, bear, and whale. There are tales of Thunderbird who dwelt on the mountain (Saddle) and no one ever dared invade this domain in fear for his life. There were shamens who worked elaborate trickery and magic to influence the people and to compete and defeat other shaman. The tribal artisans carved wooden masks, which were ornamented and decorated with paint, feathers, and beads for use in

dance and shaman ceremonies. The Chinookans did not carve totems but traded for them with the Nootkas, who were well-known totem carvers. Chief Comcomly, renowned Chinook chief of the 1800's, had an impressive totem in front of his royal lodge near Ilwaco on the north side of the Columbia.

Lewis and Clark Noted

From the Lewis and Clark Journal we find that the Northwest Coast inhabitants and especially the Clatsop people were considered quite admirable by comparison with other tribes encountered by the expedition. They mentioned: "the Clatsops treated the women with more consideration than Indians usually did and observed that it was because the women did their full share in earning the living." It was also noted that the Clatsops did treat their old men with more kindness than other tribes.

Burial Customs

From *Cumtux*, Summer 1981, the article on Chief Concomly gives a description of his burial by Englishman Dr. Meredith Gairdner, who stole the skull of the Chief and sent it to a museum in England. His letter which accompanied the skull, contained the following information: "After death the body is just embowelled or rubbed with oil or is painted with ochre and water and then wrapped in several folds of blankets. They are then deposited in a death canoe which is placed on a stage elevated about 6 or 7 feet from the ground. They here attain a state of the most perfect exsiccation, tho very imperfectly sheltered from the weather (as the climate is very wet for six months in the year). After remaining in this position for 3 or 4 years, as may be, the relations do remove them from the canoe and bury them in the ground."



A Chinookan woman combs the soft bark of the red cedar with a broken shell to prepare it for use as clothing. In the distance is a village of longhouses, some as large as 20 by 60 feet. Each dwelling housed a number of family groups. The chief's family and his slaves had a separate lodge.

Illustration by Mary McDonald

Captain Robert Gray

Chronology by Jim Dennon

May 11, 1992 marks the 200th anniversary of Captain Robert Gray's exploration of the Columbia River. Gray, then a bachelor, had turned 37 years old on the day before he entered the river. He had sight in one eye, but other details of his personal appearance are unknown except for a drawing done by a sailor on his ship and one painting.

Like other heroes of history, Robert Gray was largely forgotten until forty years after his death, when his entry into and naming of "Columbia's River" became a cornerstone of the United States' claim to the northwest territory drained by the river, the present states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, plus portions of Montana and Wyoming.

May 10, 1755

Birth of Robert W. Gray

Robert W. Gray was born in Tiverton, Rhode Island on May 10, 1755, the son of William and Elizabeth Gray, seventh of nine children. Robert Gray's grandfather was Edward Gray, one of the organizers of Tiverton in Rhode Island colony. His great-grandfather was Sir Edward Gray, who arrived at Plymouth, Massachusetts in 1643 and married Mary Winslow, a niece of Governor Edward Winslow.

The house in Tiverton in which Robert Gray was born still stands and now bears a plaque donated by the Robert Gray Junior High School of Tacoma, Washington.

August 17, 1775

Bruno de Hezeta's River

When Robert Gray was 20 years old, the Spanish explorer Bruno de Hezeta came very close to entering the great river. Southbound on the evening



Captain Robert Gray
(1755-1806)

From a photo of the only known painting.

of August 17, 1775, Hezeta discovered, at 46 degrees latitude, a large bay of water, but the eddies and currents were so strong that he believed he was at the mouth of some great river. He named the bay Ensenada de Asuncion, or Asuncion Bay (Baker's Bay) in honor of the day, and the river was later listed on Spanish charts as the Rio de San Roque (August 16th being the day sacred to the saint).

Hezeta named both capes at the river's mouth, the one on the north Cabo de San Roque or Cape San Rock (Cape Disappointment) and on the south Cabo de Frondoso or Leafy Cape (Point Adams). Although Bruno de Hezeta had a strong desire to enter the

river, he was dissuaded by his second captain Don Juan Perez and pilot Don Christoval Reveilla, who insisted they should not attempt it because the crew was sick with scurvy. Southbound from the river, they named Cape Falcon (Tillamook Head) and Table Mountain (Neahkahnie Mountain). Hczeta's detailed log entry and chart documents that he had visually discovered the mouth of the Columbia River, but the official discovery (actual entry into and proof of the river's existence) waited nearly 17 years for Robert Gray.

1776 - Robert Gray's youth

In 1776 when Capt. James Cook sailed on his third expedition and discovered the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands, Robert Gray's early years' activities are unknown. Historians surmise he may have sailed as a privateer during the Revolutionary War, although no record of his military service has been found.

1787 - First Voyage Sponsors

Joseph Barrell, a Boston merchant, read the account of Captain Cook's third voyage which gave him the idea to enter the China fur trade. Captain Cook had said that sea otter furs could be purchased from the natives for beads, knives, and other trifling commodities and sold to the Chinese at from 16 to 20 pounds each. Barrell interested five others in the venture: Samuel Brown, a Boston merchant; Charles Bulfinch, son of the Boston physician, Dr. Thomas Bulfinch; Crowell Hatch, a Cambridge merchant ship captain; John Derby, a Salem shipowner; and John Marsden Pintard, a New York financier of the House of Louis Pintard. Shares were \$7,000 each, of which Joseph Barrell purchased two and the others one share, for a total investment of \$49,000. For this endeavor, they purchased two unseaworthy vessels, the ship *Columbia* and the sloop *Lady Washington*.

The *Columbia Rediviva*

A ship's register at Boston on September 25, 1790 (original in the

National Archives), described the *Columbia*: ship rigged with three masts, two decks, length of deck 83 feet 6 inches, maximum breadth 24 feet 2 inches, depth of hold 12 feet 1 inch, (measured by the formula then in use) weighed 212 8/95 tons, square-sterned with no galleries, with a figurehead of a woman on the prow. The nameplate on her stern was *Columbia*. Robert Haswell recorded the ship's armament in March 1791 as ten cannons, six four-pounders and four six-pounders, and ten swivel guns, usually one- and two-pounders.

The *Columbia* was built by James Briggs at Hobart's Landing, North River, Scituate, Massachusetts in 1773. During the summer of 1787, she was repaired and reconditioned at Plymouth and outfitted at Long Wharf, Boston. Upon completion of restoration, she was renamed the *Columbia Rediviva*, meaning Columbia Revived (reborn).

The *Lady Washington*

Consort and tender to the *Columbia Rediviva* was the single-masted sloop, *Lady Washington*. To date, no ship's registers or records have been found giving her dimensions. Robert Haswell wrote in his log that she was "scarsely 90 tuns [sic]." If she was 90 tons, her approximate measurements (from the formula) would have been: length of deck 64 feet, maximum breadth 20 feet 6 inches and depth of hold 8 feet (these figures were refined by Hewitt Jackson to 65 feet 4 inches length between perpendiculars, 23 feet 3 inches beam extreme, and 7 feet 8 inch depth of hold). From Haswell's log it is known the *Lady Washington* was "fast and handy," logging ten knots on occasion. Of her armament: when Capt. Martinez met her at Nootka on May 3, 1789, he recorded the sloop carried four cannons (six-pounders) and six swivel guns (one- and two-pounders).

Expedition Medals and Coins

Several hundred copper and pewter medals, 1 9/16 inch in diameter, were

struck with an engraving of the two ships on the front, with lettering around: "*Columbia* and *Washington*, commanded by J. Kendrick." On the reverse side the lettering around was: "Fitted at Boston, N. America, for the Pacific Ocean," and continuing in the center: "by J. Barrell, S. Brown, C. Bulfinch, J. Derby, C. Hatch, J. M. Pintard, 1787." These were to be placed in the countries which might be visited or discovered. A dozen or so were minted in silver, one of which was given to General George Washington who thanked the owners and expressed his best wishes for their success. Two of the copper medals are now in the collection of the Tillamook County Pioneer Museum. Additionally, the State of Massachusetts provided the expedition with newly minted 1787 cents and half-cents for distribution around the world.

First Voyage Officers and Crews

Officers and crews of both vessels were listed on a memorandum for advance wages paid on September 27, 1787 as well as on handwritten muster sheets and accounts in the files of William Twombly, fourth great-grandson of Captain Robert Gray, as follows:

Columbia Rediviva: Captain John ("Jack") Kendrick (c.1740-1794), 47 years, of Wareham, Massachusetts, was commander of the expedition and master of the larger ship. Simeon Woodruff (chief mate), Joseph Ingraham (first mate), Robert Haswell (second mate), John B. Cordis (third mate), John Kendrick Jr. (fourth mate), Dr. Roberts (surgeon), John Barber, Johnathon Gilbert, William Bowles, John Annis (boatswain), Nathan Arnold (boatswain's mate), Otis Liscomb (seaman), Josiah Dodge, Isaac Ridley (carpenter), John Fuller (seaman), James Mackie, Jabez Westeval, John Cox (seaman), Solomon Kendrick (seaman), James Crawford, Thomas

Jeffrey, John Maud, Miles Greenwood (seaman), John Nutting (astronomer-navigator, a schoolmaster), Samuel Thomas, Phillip Capps, Robert B. Treat (the furrier). (Notes: The first officer, Simeon Woodruff, had served with Captain James Cook on his voyage of discovery in the Pacific waters where these vessels were headed. Solomon Kendrick and John Kendrick Jr. were the sons of Captain John Kendrick.)

Lady Washington: Captain Robert Gray (1755-1806), 32 years, of Boston, was master of the sloop, the consort or tender carrying supplies for the expedition. R. Davis Coolidge (chief mate), Joshua Hemmingway (carpenter's mate), Paul Brownell, Robert Green, Thomas Foster, James Hamilton, Andrew Newell (seaman), John McCoy, Bartholomew Ballard (tailor), Joshua Dinsdall (seaman), Abraham Waters (seaman), Lt. Richard S. Howe (supercargo).

Trade Goods Cargo

According to 1790 account pages of the *Lady Washington's* "cargo and how expended," she carried: hoes, shingling hatchets, large axes, adzes, pole axes, bill hooks, hatchets, drawing knives, rat traps, snuff bottles, butcher's knives, cod hooks, jew's harps, soldier's boxes, trinkets, beads, necklaces, brass pans, brass tops, razors, tobacco boxes, tin quart pots, tin pint pots, sail needles, looking glasses (mirrors), pint basins, combs, awl blades, awl hafts (handles), cuttoes, shering knives, reaping hooks, pump hammers, hand saws, pewter porringers (porridge bowls), basins, elegant earrings, large saws, wire, suits of clothing, brass tobacco boxes, tinder boxes, skillets, pots, kettles, cane knives, and chisels (the latter item was also manufactured from iron by the ship's blacksmith at Nootka).

First Voyage (1787-1790) Records

The official ship's logs of the first voyage have not survived. Both Joseph Ingraham (first mate) and Robert Haswell (19-year old second mate) are

known to have kept personal journals (narratives). Published research originates from Robert Haswell's "first log" (the original in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society), plus Capt. Gray's papers and artifacts shared by his descendants: members of the Bancroft, Peabody and Twombly families. Also, John Hoskins (owners' representative on the second voyage) kept a journal prefaced by a history of the first voyage.

Bon Voyage Celebration

The end of September departure date was selected so as to round Cape Horn between South America and Antarctica when it was summer there.

Having departed from Long Wharf at Boston, both ships were anchored at Castle Roads near Castle Island, Boston Harbor on Friday, September 28, 1787.

Following Sunday services at Boston on September 30, 1787, the owners, friends and family of the officers and crew, and other prominent Bostonians boarded the two ships for a bon voyage party. The vessels embarked from Castle Island late in the day with many of the party-goers still on board and anchored side-by-side at Nantasket Roads. The guest didn't leave the ships until late in the evening.

Departure October 1, 1787

The ships departed Cape Cod at daybreak on Monday, October 1, 1787 on their first voyage which would last three long years. They headed for the Cape Verde Islands off the west coast of Africa.

November 9, 1787

Cape Verdes Layover

On November 9th (Haswell) or Saturday the 10th (Capt. Gray), the ships arrived at the Isle of May where Captain Kendrick purchased and loaded livestock: 140 goats, two bulls, a cow, three hogs and three sheep.

On Friday, November 16th, the ships arrived at St. Jago (Santiago) at the Cape Verde Islands' capital and chief port (Porto Praya), to take on a

full supply of fresh water. That's when Captain Kendrick discovered the spare water casks aboard the *Columbia* were buried under tons of other stowage. In order to make room on deck to rearrange the stowage, the animals had to be pastured ashore which was done on the small Isle of Quales in Porto Praya Bay.

The reloading operation took many days and presumably because of the debacle, Captain Kendrick fired the chief mate, Simeon Woodruff, the only one with navigational experience in the Pacific Ocean. On December 4th, according to payroll records, Chief Mate Woodruff was replaced by Joseph Ingraham. A few days later Dr. Roberts, the ship's surgeon, claimed ill health and asked for discharge. Captain Kendrick approved if the doctor would pay his passage to the Cape Verde Islands. Roberts disagreed, went ashore and sought the Governor's asylum, and entered a complaint of inhuman treatment. Kendrick drew a sword to force the surgeon back, but the governor's soldiers intervened. Dr. Roberts was logged as a deserter and forfeited his pay. Because of all of these problems, the ships were delayed at the Cape Verdes Islands for 41 days, 36 days more than Captain Gray had thought necessary.

The payroll reveals that three seamen were hired at St. Jago to replace the lost personnel: George Munk (Dec. 5th), John Hammond (Dec. 7th), and Hanse Lawton (Dec. 8th). Captain Robert Gray signed on a black youth, Marcus Lopus as his cabin attendant, accompanied by his pet nanny goat which provided milk. The crew adopted the goat as their mascot and named her Nancy. The vessels departed St. Jago on Tuesday, December 21, 1787.

Man Lost Overboard

On the morning of January 15, 1788, John Nutting (the schoolmaster-navigator) was reported missing from the *Columbia*. He was last seen the

evening before. In a letter to Samuel Breck at Boston, furrier John B. Treat wrote: "our astronomer, who being insane, threw himself overboard and was lost."

Robert Haswell Demoted

Following a scuffle between second mate Robert Hasell and seaman Otis Liscomb, who had refused an order, Capt. Kendrick demoted Haswell for a time.

February 16, 1788

Falkland Islands Stop

They arrived in the heavily kelp-weeded Bretts Harbor (in Byron's Sound, Saudners Island) in the Falkland Islands on Saturday, February 16, 1788. Shortly after, Capt. Kendrick and Robert Haswell talked, and Haswell requested a transfer to the *Lady Washington* as second officer. During the two weeks there, the men prepared the ships for sailing around Cape Horn; cut hay for the livestock; hunted wild fowl and pigs; and collected wild celery, horse radish and sorrel. Capt. Kendrick contemplated wintering there, but there wasn't a stick of wood for fires to keep warm since there were no trees on the islands. The transfer of officers (Haswell exchanged with the second mate of the *Lady Washington*) occurred before they left the Falklands on Thursday, February 28, 1787.

April 14, 1788

First American Vessel Around Cape Horn

Capt. Kendrick took the vessels far south before turning west. The two ships reached 62 degrees 29 minutes south latitude, nearly to the northern tip of the Antarctic peninsula. They saw large ice islands and experienced bitter cold. On Tuesday, April 1, 1788, the vessels became separated during a vicious storm at 57 degrees 57 minutes south latitude, 92 degrees 40 minutes west longitude. This storm damaged the jib stay, which was repaired by chief mate R. Davis Coolidge and second mate Robert Haswell. Capt. Robert

Gray recorded that they passed the Straits of Magellan on Sunday, April 7th. Another storm on May 13th split the mainsail which was replaced by a well-worn spare. By Sunday, April 14th, the *Lady Washington* reached the waters of the Pacific Ocean, the first American vessel to round Cape Horn into the south sea.

Caught Rainwater for Drinking

Capt. Gray then sailed north for Nootka Sound, where by previous plan, if the vessels separated, they were to rendezvous. On Friday, April 25, 1788, Gray recorded that they reached Masafuera Island (Isla Mas a Tierra of the Fernandez Islands) and on Saturday, May 3rd, the Island of Amborse (Isla San Ambrosio) off the coast of Chile. Unable to stop because of weather, fresh water had to be rationed. Finally, as they crossed the equator on May 22nd, rain was caught during a storm for drinking water.

May 24, 1788

Kendrick Stopped for Repairs

The *Columbia* was more seriously damaged and on May 24, 1788, stopped at Cumberland Bay in the Spanish islands of Juan Fernandez for repairs. Governor Don Blas Gonzalez helped Captain Kendrick, supplying fresh food and providing materials to repair the vessel. When the repairs were completed, fresh water, provisions, and livestock were loaded and the *Columbia* departed on June 6th. (Because he had assisted the Americans, the Spanish afterwards removed Governor Gonzalez from office.)

Captain Gray, on the *Lady Washington*, was off the coast of Central America on June 19th and the coast of Mexico on July 19th.

July, 1788

John Meares' Disappointment

On July 5, 1788, the English trader John Meares was in Willapa Bay. Armed with a Spanish map that showed Hezeta's (San Roc) River, he next sailed south looking for the mouth of the

fabled great river. Although he stood off the river's mouth, he did not believe it was a river at all, so he named the harbor Deception Bay and recorded his disappointment for posterity when he named it Cape Disappointment; a name which remains in use to this day. Thus John Meares gave up his chance to discover the river.

August 2, 1788

Off Northern California

John Hoskins recorded in his journal preface that Captain Gray's *Lady Washington* made the coast of New Albion at latitude 41 degrees, 10 minutes north, on Saturday, August 2, 1788. The next day they were at 41 degrees, 38 minutes, 22 miles south of the present Oregon-California border.

August 12, 1788

First Landing in Oregon

On Tuesday, August 12, 1788, the first sailors of record set foot in Oregon were Chief Mate Coolidge and his longboat crew who landed at a small inlet (perhaps Nestucca Bay) in the vicinity of Cape Lookout.

August 14, 1788

Tillamook Bay Discovered

There were several reasons to find a harbor: the desire to begin trading for furs, the need for fresh greens by crew members suffering from scurvy, and the need to replenish the fresh water supply.

According to Robert Haswell, the *Lady Washington* was set back at 45 degrees, 56 minutes (near Tillamook Head) by a strong wind and current from the north. Haswell commented, "We could not hold our own." They returned south and entered a "tolerable harbour" near 45 degrees, 27 minutes (Tillamook Bay) on Thursday, August 14th. The Indians were very friendly and brought the sailors berries and boiled crabs. The berries were especially appreciated, since three or four men were in the advance stages of scurvy. The following day a brisk trade

began with the Tillamook Indians, and the *Washington* acquired many pelts, mostly sea otter traded for drawing knives, axes, and adzes.

On Saturday, August 16th, while waiting for a favorable tide to depart, Chief Mate R. Davis Coolidge, Robert Haswell, and five sailors who were suffering from scurvy went ashore to cut and gather grass and dig clams. Capt. Gray's cabin attendant Marcus Lopus ran after an Indian who had taken his cutlass. Haswell said he witnessed the black youth murdered by the Indians. Several of the men were injured by arrows as they ran to get away. When the men returned to the ship, the *Washington* fired its guns.

[Notes: The vessel may have anchored by the Indian village known as "Squaw Town" near Hobsonville Point on Tillamook Bay. A six-pounder cannon ball found beside the bay is in the collection of the Tillamook County Pioneer Museum and may have come from that encounter. Tillamook pioneers were not so sure the black youth expired. Chief Kilchis told one pioneer that he was a descendant of a man from a sailing ship. The pioneer Warren Vaughn knew Chief Kilchis from 1852 until his death in 1870. Vaughn said Kilehis had African features, African feet, curly hair and beard, and was a large man about 225 pounds. However, in a 1932 letter to *The Oregonian*, his granddaughter Ellen Center denied Chief Kilchis had any but Indian blood in his ancestry.]

After his black attendant was killed, Capt. Gray named the bay "Murderer's harbour." An attempt to leave the harbor the next day failed, damaging the vessel's rudder on the bar; they finally left Tillamook Bay on Monday, August 18th. By Tuesday the 19th, they were at 47 degrees, 11 minutes (north of Gray's Harbor), and on the 21st, Haswell saw the snow-covered Olympic Mountains. They passed Cape Flattery on the 22nd.

August 26, 1788

Reached Vancouver Island

On Tuesday, August 26th, the *Lady Washington* was the first American vessel to sail across the Strait of Juan de Fuca's entrance. Later that day, they arrived at Company's Bay (Barkley's Sound, the southernmost of the sounds on the western coast of Vancouver Island). Three canoes with 46 Indians greeted them ceremoniously, but it was late in the season and they had already sold their furs to other traders.

On August 30th, they reached Clayoquot Sound, where the natives had furs but would trade only for copper sheets or muskets. Copper was not among the merchandise on board, and Capt. Gray declined to trade muskets. The preplanned rendezvous was at Nootka. As they headed northward in September, stormy weather caused them to pass Nootka Sound.

September 16, 1788

Arrived at Nootka

In September, the Indians had left their summer places and were at their winter quarters on the streams harvesting the fall run of salmon.

On Tuesday, September 16th, the *Lady Washington* reached Resolution Cove on Bligh Island, Nootka Sound, and then moved to Friendly Cove at the invitation of Captain John Meares of the *Felice Adventurer* and Captain William Douglas of the *Iphigenia Nubiana*. On the 19th, Capt. Meares had his blacksmith repair the *Lady Washington's* rudder. On this same day, Meares' crews launched the schooner *North West America*, the first vessel built on the Pacific Coast. Capt. Meares and the *Felice Adventurer* departed for Macao, China on September 22nd, but refused to carry Capt. Gray's letters. Gray had written a letter to the owners on Sept. 21st.

September 23, 1788

Rendezvous at Nootka

Capt. Kendrick on the *Columbia Rediviva* arrived on September 23,

1788. Two of Kendrick's St. Jago men died of scurvy: John Hammond at sea on September 19th and Hanse Lawton after their arrival on September 28th. Of the four hired at St. Jago, only George Munk survived the voyage.

Capt. Gray wanted to leave immediately for China to get copper, the trade goods the natives demanded, but Capt. Kendrick ordered that both vessels spend the winter at Nootka. Kendrick had decided to change the rigging of the *Lady Washington* from a single-masted sloop to a double-masted brig. However, there were not sufficient materials available at Nootka to do so.

October, 12, 1788

Anniversary of Departure

Celebrating the anniversary of their departure from Cape Cod a year before, each vessel fired a 13-gun salute at noon to honor the thirteen states. The crews spent the day at leisure and the officers dined aboard the *Columbia*. October was rainy and disagreeable. On October 14th, Joseph Ingraham, Richard Howe, and Robert Treat left with the schooner *North West American* to obtain fish and oil from the natives. When it began to snow on October 26th, the natives brought fish oil and venison and traded some skins.

December 12, 1788

Cannons and Water Casks Stolen

A temporary storage shed was fashioned on shore under an overturned longboat. During the night of Dec. 11th, Indians helped themselves to five small cannons which Capt. Douglas had given to Capt. Kendrick and 15 water casks. The stolen items were never recovered; the ship's cooper had the task of making replacement water casks.

Christmas 1788

Christmas 1788 was celebrated with a feast of venison and duck, bread and molasses, extra grog, and a plum duff (raisin pastry dessert).

January 13, 1789

Fire Damaged Columbia

Although Capt. Kendrick had a

good brass stove to provide warmth for his crew, he decided to build a brick chimney to keep a fire by the *Columbia's* mizzenmast. On Tuesday, January 13th, the fire in this make-shift chimney burned through the deck, damaged some stored sails, and threatened the powder room. Buckets of ice water averted a disaster. The ship's carpenter and sail maker had to make the repairs.

Winter, 1789

Indian Chisels Manufactured

Without copper sheets, the next best trade item was Indian chisels. These were one-inch wide pieces of iron with a cutting edge and fastened to a handle, crafted by the ship's blacksmith. As soon as weather permitted in the spring, Captain Gray prepared for fur-gathering voyages with the *Lady Washington*. On February 25th, 450 Indian chisels were taken on board. On March 12th, two casks of wrought iron tools were transferred to the *Columbia* for the blacksmith to convert into Indian chisels.

March 16, 1789

Fur Trading Cruise South

On March 16, 1789, Capt. Gray, aboard the *Lady Washington*, cruised southward trading for furs. He visited Poverty Cove inside the Strait of Juan de Fuca on March 29th. By April 8th, they were off the Washington coast as far south as Destruction Island, but were turned back by bad weather. On April 10th, they were in Clayoquot Sound where they witnessed Chief Wickananish harpoon a whale. They traded south, then crossed the strait, and, on April 19th, were near La Push off the Washington coast. They ran out of chisels the next day near Cape Flattery, so they sailed for Nootka Sound, where they arrived on April 22nd.

May 3, 1789

Began Cruise North

The *Lady Washington* was reloaded with chisels the blacksmith

had been making. Capt. Gray sailed north on Saturday, May 3rd, 1789, and was not far from Nootka Sound when the Spanish warship *Princesa* fired a warning gun at the ship *Lady Washington* and ordered Captain Gray to come aboard. Captain Don Estevan Joes Martinez revealed he was enroute to Nootka Sound to take command. He was cordial, gave Captain Gray a ham and some brandy, and after exchanging a seven gun salute, the vessels continued on their way.

May-July, 1789

Nootka Sound Incident

The *Columbia* remained at anchor at Nootka Sound when Commandante Martinez arrived with the *Princesa* on May 6th to take possession. Kendrick quickly ingratiated himself to Martinez. Martinez reported in his diary, on May 8, 1789, that two of the *Columbia's* medals were found that day on his vessel. A second Spanish warship, the *St. Carlos*, with Capt. Arraw in command arrived on May 12th from St. Blas.

Captain Kendrick witnessed the Spanish-English confrontation which came to be known as the "Nootka Sound Incident." The English fur-trader John Meares had put together a fleet of four vessels with which he planned to control the fur trade from "Fort Pitt" (to be built at Nootka Sound). The *Iphegenia* had arrived on April 19th, and the *North West America* on April 23rd. Martinez allowed the *Iphegenia* to leave, but confiscated the *North West America*, charging she entered a Spanish port illegally. When the *Iphegenia* returned on June 1st, he captured her too. Subsequently, Martinez captured Mears' large supply vessel, the *Snow Argonaut*, which arrived on July 2nd and the Sloop *Princess Royal* on July 12th, the same day the *Snow Argonaut* was sent to St. Blas with its officers and men as prisoners to stand trial.

Throughout the Spanish-English

conflict, Captain Kendrick cooperated with Martinez and agreed to his request that the *Columbia's* blacksmith make leg irons to hold the *North West America* crew aboard the *Columbia Rediviva*. They were later transported to China on the *Columbia*, their expenses covered by a security deposit of 96 sea otter skins. Capt. Kendrick's son, John Kendrick Jr., joined Martinez's Spanish fleet and became Capt. Juan Kendrick of the *Aranzazu*.

[Note: the "Nootka Controversy" was settled two years later, and by a convention signed on February 12, 1793, Spain paid \$210,000 restitution for the seized British vessels and surrendered her claim of sovereignty over the Pacific Ocean and Nootka Sound.]

May 23, 1789

Lady Washington Damaged

On Thursday, May 8th, Capt. Gary was in Chickleset (Nasparti Inlet), Kyuquot Sound. The next day they passed Cape Ingraham (Cape Scott), going between it and Scott Islands. On the 11th, they were along the mainland and in the vicinity of Laredo Sound traded with "Lob Lip" Indians where the women wore labrets (wooden ornaments in their lower lips). On May 19th, Capt. Gray named Derby Sound for one of the sponsors of the voyage, John Derby (Brown's Passage). On May 22nd, he named Washington Island (Queen Charlotte Islands) after General George Washington. During this cruise, they also entered and named Barrell's Sound (Houston Stewart Channel) and Pintard Sound (Queen Charlotte Sound).

The *Lady Washington* sailed as far north as Bucareli Bay, Alaska. On May 23rd, 1789, in a small cove north of Dall Island, Alaska, near 55 degrees 30 minutes latitude, wind gusts drove the *Lady Washington* on the rocks, carrying the jibboom and bowsprit away and doing considerable damage to the ship's hull. Haswell named the place Distress Cove.

After temporary repairs, about June 6th they anchored near a village in Parry Passage between North Island and Graham Island of Washington's Island (Queen Charlotte Island). The chief's wife supervised the fur trading, which was brisk. Robert Haswell recorded that in a very few minutes they had secured 200 sea otter skins, trading with natives as they proceeded, the *Lady Washington* limped southward to Nootka.

June 17, 1789

Gray Returned to Nootka

The *Columbia Rediviva* was still anchored at Kendrick Inlet in Nootka Sound when Captain Gray returned on June 17th. Captain Kendrick ordered the *Lady Washington* repaired, but Gray had to interrupt his supervision of the repairs for dinners, toasts, and cannon salutes to celebrate Spanish events and holidays. On June 24, 1789, Commandante Don Estevan J. Martinez presided over the pomp and ceremony of officially taking control and possession of the land for Spain, citing their presence there since 1774.

Kendrick was still holding the English sailors on the *Columbia* when Martinez asked him to load and train the *Columbia's* guns on the British *Snow Argonaut*, which arrived July 2nd.

July 4, 1789

Independence Day Celebration

The Americans celebrated Independence Day on July 4th. Captain Kendrick fired the cannonade 13 times, once for each year of independence from England. The 13-year salute was repeated several times, and Martinez answered with the guns of *San Miguel* for a total of 161 shots fired that day.

July 16, 1789

Sway of Commands

Assisted by Commandante Martinez's men, both the *Lady Washington* and the *Columbia Rediviva* were repaired. On July 15, 1789, Capt. Kendrick ordered both vessels to sail to Clayoquot Sound.

At Clayoquot on July 16th, Captain

Kendrick unexpectedly announced a change of command. Captain Robert Gray was given command of the *Columbia Rediviva* with orders to sail for Canton, China. Transferring to the *Columbia* with Capt. Gray were Robert Haswell (second mate), Joshua Hemmingway (carpenter's mate), Bartholomew Ballard (tailor), Andrew Newell (seaman), Joshua Dinsdall (seaman), and Nancy the goat (mascot).

Capt. Kendrick signed a paper on July 29, 1789, that he had received from Capt. Gray the *Lady Washington* and the remainder of merchandise not expended. On the same day, Kendrick issued a bill of lading for shipping on the *Columbia* to Canton, consigned to Messrs. Shaw & Randall: 70 bundles, each containing 10 sea otter skins and 34 bundles, each containing 10 pieces each, plus 24 beaver skins, 6 land otter, and 3 martins.

Capt. Kendrick said he would bring the *Washington* to China later with additional furs.

July 30, 1789

Capt. Gray Departed for China

On July 30, 1789, Captain Gray commanding the *Columbia Rediviva*, sailed from Clayoquot Sound bound for Canton.

August 24, 1789

First American Ship in Hawaii

On August 24, 1789, the *Columbia Rediviva* arrived at Kauai (Attoi) in the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands and on August 27th anchored in Kealahou Bay, Hawaii; the first American vessel to visit the islands.

Visiting each of the islands for provisions, they loaded five casks of salted pork, 150 live hogs, plantains, sugarcane, and yams. Niihau (Onehowe) was the "Yam Island." There, Capt. Gray permitted two Hawaiians to board, Attoo and Opie, who "wanted to see the world." The crew nicknamed both of them "Jack," and they became the first Hawaiians to

circumnavigate the globe.

On the evening of September 15th, the *Columbia* sailed for China. [Note: John Henry Cox found some of the *Columbia* medals at Hawaii in September, 1789.]

November 3, 1789

Gray in China

The *Columbia Rediviva* arrived at Typa (Macao Roads) on November 3rd and waited 14 days for her "chop" (customs permit). She arrived at Whampoa, an anchorage about 12 miles from Canton, on November 17, 1789, then Gray commuted by sampan to Pinguas Hong, Canton.

On November 16th, Capt. Gray hired Samuel Hitchcock (cook), Thomas Ray (seaman), and put Hawaiian Jack Attoo on the payroll as a seaman (cabin attendant). On November 25th, he hired James Jones (seaman).

Capt. Gray's instructions were to contact Messrs. Shaw and Randall at Canton and follow their orders regarding sale of the furs and purchase of cargo. Major Samuel Shaw and Thomas Randall were the first Americans to establish a commercial house in China in 1786.

Capt. Gray wrote to Joseph Barrell on December 18th that he had arrived with 700 sea otter skins and 300 fur pieces which he was waiting to sell and purchase Bohca tea so as to leave by the end of January.

January 4, 1790

Furs taken to Canton

On January 4th, Capt. Gray took the fur cargo to Canton in a chop boat guarded by eight men armed with muskets. According to the inventory, there were 105 bundles of 10 sea otter skins plus 70 others for a total of 1,120 skins. Additionally, there were 96 sea otter skins received from Capt. Martinez for passage of the *North West America* crew to Canton, 24 of which Capt. Gray accepted in payment. The fur cargo remained unsold when Gray

wrote another letter on January 18th.

January 26, 1790 Kendrick in China

When Capt. Kendrick visited the Hawaiian Islands enroute to china in December, 1789, he went into the sandalwood business and left three of his crew to harvest the wood: Isaac Ridley (carpenter), Samuel Thomas, and James Mackie. Ridley later shipped with Capt. Ingraham on the *Hope*.

Capt. Kendrick arrived at Macao Roads on January 26, 1790, with 717 sea otter skins and 187 to be sold for Governor Martinez. On January 29th Kendrick moved to Dirty Butter Bay (Lark's Bay). He received a cash advance of 111 pounds from Shaw & Randall, charged to *Columbia's* account. On February 6th, Kendrick wrote to Capt. Gray that he planned do one of three things: (1) load teas for home, (2) convert the sloop to a brigantine and return to the northwest coast, or (3) sell the sloop to the Portuguese. Owners' agent Thomas Randall sent word to Capt. Kendrick via a letter from Capt. Gray that the furs should be sold at Macao and the proceeds used to purchase a full cargo for the *Columbia's* return to Boston. Kendrick was to return to Nootka to gather more furs.

February, 1790 Gray Sold Furs

Capt. Gray wrote to Capt. Kendrick on Jan. 29th that Mr. Randall declined transacting business with Kendrick's sloop, and that, although some 600 chests of tea had been loaded on the *Columbia*, the skins cargo remained to be disposed of.

In early February, the skins and furs were finally sold. According to the *Columbia's* accounts with Messrs. Shaw & Randall, Capt. Gray's cargo of furs sold for \$21,404, of which he spent \$10,163 for repairs and expenses, and with the remaining \$11,241 purchased 650 chests of Bohea tea (21,461 lbs).

With a loan from Shaw & Randall, Capt. Gray purchased silk, china, wine glasses, and tumblers.

Kendrick Abandoned Owners

Capt. Kendrick wrote from Macao (Lark's Bay) on Feb. 6th requesting Capt. Gray to give an accounting of the fur cargo on board and the quality of the tea and prices. He asked whether cordage or sail cloth could be procured at Canton, adding that the sloop was entirely destitute of sails and rigging.

Capt. Kendrick sold his 717 furs for \$18,000 and Martinez's 187 furs for \$8,000. But instead of purchasing tea for the *Columbia's* cargo to Boston, Kendrick began acting as if he owned the *Lady Washington*. He wrote letters to Joseph Barrell, but never made any real accounting nor ever remitted a cent to the owners. Using the fur sale proceeds and the \$8,000 belonging to Martinez, Kendrick converted the *Lady Washington* from a single-masted sloop to a two-masted brigantine. He sold the brig to himself on April 16, 1790 with a self-approved loan of \$14,000 at 12% interest. He called it a "sham sale" to help him through troubles with Chinese authorities.

Capt. Kendrick almost lost his life from a fever at Macao and remained in China through the 1790 fur season. He borrowed \$3,000 from Capt. William Douglas and left China in March, 1791, in business for himself.

February 12, 1790 Gray Departed China

Capt. Gray hired two more men at Canton on February 1st: Joseph Barnes (seaman) and John Cox 2nd (seaman). The *Columbia Rediviva* departed macao for Boston on February 12th. (Capt. Kendrick wrote Joseph Barrell over two years later, on March 28, 1792, that the *Columbia* had "sailed contrary to my orders or expectations, otherwise something handsome might have been sent you from me.")

June 16, 1790
Arrived St. Helena

Returning home around Africa, the *Columbia* reached the island of St. Helena in the southern Atlantic on June 16, 1790. On that day, Captain Gray wrote to Joseph Barrell that a gale of wind had prevented him from stopping to see Capt. Kendrick when they left China.

Gray took on fresh provisions, vegetables and water at St. Helena and departed on June 19th. On June 24th, they passed Ascension Island.

August 9, 1790
Arrived Home at Boston
To a Hero's Welcome

On August 11, 1790, the Boston *Columbian Centinel* reported: "It is with real pleasure we announce the safe arrival, in this port, on Monday last [August 9, 1790], of the ship *Columbia*, Capt. Gray, from a voyage of adventure to the North-West Coast of America ... The *Columbia* [is] the first American vessel [to] have circumnavigated the globe. On the *Columbia's* arriving opposite the Castle [Castle Island], she saluted the flag of the United States with 13 guns; which was immediately returned therefrom, and on coming to her moorings in the harbor fired a federal salute which a great concourse of citizens assembled on the several wharfs returned with three huzzas and a hearty welcome." The *Columbia* had logged 48,889 miles on this voyage.

Governor John Hancock welcomed the *Columbia's* sailors, who marched

through the streets of Boston. Walking arm-in-arm were Capt. Gray and Jack Attoo, who wore the red and yellow feather robe of an Hawaiian prince. Gray and Attoo were the "toast of the town." A governor's reception followed the parade.

According to a payroll paper dated Sept. 25, 1790, the *Columbia's* men paid and discharged at Boston on August 18, 1790 were: Robert Gray (Captain), Joseph Ingraham (chief mate), Robert Haswell (second mate), Richard S. Howe (supercargo), John Annis (boatswain), Nathan Arnold (boatswain's mate), Joshua Hemmingway (carpenter's mate), Bartholomew Ballard (tailor), Samuel Hitchcock (cook), Otis Liscomb (seaman), Johnathan Fuller (seaman), Andrew Newell (seaman), John Cox (seaman), Solomon Kendrick (seaman), Miles Greenwood (seaman), Joshua Dinsdall (seaman), George Munk (seaman), Joseph Barnes (seaman), John Cox 2d (seaman), Thomas Ray (seaman), Jack Attoo (seaman), and James Jones (seaman). Jack Opie did not receive wages.

Tea Cargo Damaged

On August 19th, 1790, the tea cargo aboard the *Columbia Rediviva* was inventoried, and of the 21,461 pounds total, 12,213 pounds was found damaged by sea water. The damaged tea was sold at auction on August 31st. This misfortune added to the others resulted in the first voyage being a financial failure.

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Unknown artist's view of the Columbia Rediviva meeting the Pacific Northwest Indians.

(CCHS photo #4994-349)

Columbia River Exploration

Bicentennial 1792-1992

Chronology by Jim Dennon

Captain Robert Gray invested in the second voyage. Undaunted by financial disappointment, four of the owners agreed to try a second voyage. John Derby and John Pintard dissented and pulled out. Half of their shares were picked up by Barrell and Brown and the other half by Capt. Gray and his associates.

Partners in the second voyage were: Joseph Barrell (5/14ths), Samuel Brown (3/14ths), Thomas Bulfinch (2/14ths), Crowell Hatch (2/14ths), and a partnership consisting of Capt. Robert Gray and Mclean (2/14ths). [Note: William Twombly, fourth great-grandson of Capt. Robert Gray, has a paper dated September 25, 1790 which says Capt. Gray invested 521 pounds and his associates the remainder of costs for an eighth share in the vessel and cargo.] Total capital invested was 6,254 pounds, 1000 pounds for the vessel and the remainder allocated for outfitting, provisions, tools and cargo.

Second Voyage Records 1790-1793

There were two volumes of the original ship's logs, Volume I covering September 28, 1790 to February 20, 1792 and Volume II from February 21, 1792 to the end of the voyage on July 26, 1793. Volume I is in the Library of Congress, plus a remnant extracted from Volume II of May 7, 1792 and May 10-21, 1792 hand copied by Charles Bulfinch from the original in 1816, then in the possession of Silas Atkins, brother of Mrs. Robert Gray.

Three other journals were written, only Boit's covering the entire voyage:

John Hoskin's Narrative (September 22, 1790 to March 29, 1792) Robert Haswell's Second Log (August 14, 1791 to December 7, 1792) and John Boit's Log (September 28, 1790 to July 25 1793). The Originals are in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society (published in Volume 79 of *MHS Collections*, 1941).

September, 1790 Voyage Preparations

The *Columbia Rediviva* underwent a thorough repair and was quickly reloaded with bricks, coal, beef, pork, rum, molasses, sugar, chocolate, coffee, tea, rice, flour, sea bread, butter, cheese, tar, pitch, merchandise, bar iron, bar lead, gunpowder, and shot. John Boit said the merchandise included blue cloth, copper, and iron.

Also taken on board was the frame for the 40 ft. sloop *Nootka*, a fur-gathering vessel of about 50 tons, which Gray was to build at Clayoquet Sound.

Capt. Robert Gray carried with him a sea letter from President George Washington signed by Thomas Jefferson, dated September 16, 1790; a sea letter from Governor John Hancock of Massachusetts, dated September 24, 1790; and instructions from Joseph Barrell dated September 25, 1790.

Officers and Crew

There were 29 signers of the ship's articles in September, 1790 (original in the National Archives):

*Captain Robert Gray, 35 (commander), *Robert Haswell, 22 (chief mate), Joshua Caswell, 25 (second mate), Owen Smith (third mate), *Abraham Waters (fourth mate),

John Boit, Jr., 15 (fifth mate), Benjamin Harden (boatswain), Samuel Yendell (carpenter), Nathan Noelle (carpenter's mate), John Emmes (blacksmith), Benjamin Popkins (blacksmith-armorer), Bartlet Pease (cooper), Thomas Freeman (cook), Joseph Barns (seaman), John Butler (seaman), Bryan Windy (seaman), Anthony Luce (seaman), Joseph Folger (seaman), *Andrew Newell (seaman), John Alesworth (seaman), William Weeks (seaman), Obediah Winston (sail maker), Samuel Homer (green hand-cabin attendant), Isaac Woodman (green hand), William Jinnings (green hand), James Shepherd (green hand), George Davidson (painter-seaman), Thoams Nichels (tailor), and Nathaniel Woodward (caulker).

John Box Hoskins, 21 (supercargo-clerk) did not sign the ship's articles, nor did *Jack Attoo (the Hawaiian cabin attendant), making the ship's complement 31 on this voyage.

*An asterisk denotes those who had been on the first voyage. Fifteen-year old John Boit was owner Crowell Hatch's nephew. John Hoskins was owner Joseph Barrell's protege, a clerk in his counting house. Robert Haswell kept the official *Columbia* log until Oct. 3, 1791, then Own Smith. Jack Opie sailed three weeks earlier with Capt. Joseph Ingraham aboard the *Hope* and returned home, the first Hawaiian to sail around the world.

On September 22, 1790, the officers and crew were paid two months in advance.

October 2, 1790 Departure

On the scheduled departure day, September 26, 1790, a small leak caused by a spike hole was discovered under the ship's counter. Shipbuilder Clark hauled the vessel's stern on shore at Hancock's wharf for the repair.

The *Columbia* departed Boston at 6 a.m. on September 27th. A strong gale began on the 28th and forced them to remain at Nantasket Roads. East winds

kept them from sailing for several days. On the 30th, Capt. Gray went ashore at George's Island to purchase some sheep and hay. On October 1st, Capt. Gray and John Hoskins took a yawl to Boston and met with Joseph Barrell.

With a favorable west wind on Saturday morning, October 2, 1790, the *Columbia Rediviva* weighed anchor and stood out to sea, the day after the third anniversary of the first voyage departure.

November 25, 1790

Crossed the Equator

On the first voyage, Capt. Kendrick had taken six weeks to reach the Cape Verde Islands where he laid over 41 days. This time Capt. Gray passed the islands in four weeks (on October 31st), but did not stop and, on November 25th, crossed the Equator.

December 11, 1791

Storm Damaged Vessel

A gale off the coast of Rio de Janiero, which began on December 2nd, worked into a hurricane on December 11th. It heavily damaged masts, sails, and rigging. The carpenter, sail maker, and others completed the repairs on the 14th.

December 31, 1791

Albatrosses for Dinner

The superstition that killing an albatross brings bad luck didn't dissuade the crew of the *Columbia Rediviva*. On December 31st they caught 16 of the birds with lines and hooks baited with salt pork. The largest bird was 6 1/2 ft. long with a 12 ft. 10 inch wingspan. On January 2nd, they caught a dozen more of the birds the same way. John Hoskins said the birds were good eating at sea where fresh meat was a luxury.

January 22, 1791

At Falkland Islands

On January 21st they passed Jason Islands, and on the 22nd the *Columbia* anchored at New Islands Harbor (a small southwestern island) in the Western Falklands for ten days. They hunted geese and hogs, took fresh

water, repaired a whale boat, and prepared the *Columbia* for the trip around Cape Horn. They departed the Falklands on the morning of February 2nd. Cape Horn was rounded between February 16th and March 26th when they passed the latitude of the Juan Fernandez Islands.

April 23, 1791

Nancy the Goat Died

South of the equator and about 1,000 miles west of the Galapagos Islands, Nancy the goat died. She had been the ship's mascot, pet, and provider of milk on the first voyage. Boit recorded that she died the afternoon of April 23rd and "at 5 p.m. committed her body to the deep." Boit said she was sick from the difference in arctic and tropical climates they had passed through, but Hoskins was more specific: she got into some uncooked rice which swelled in her belly and caused her death.

The *Columbia* crossed the equator at 3 p.m. on April 29th.

May 12, 1791

Ship's Armament

On May 12th, John Hoskins recorded that the crew mounted six four-pounders on the quarterdeck, four six-pounders on the forecastle, and ten swivel guns in the stocks on the stern and quarters.

One of the crew came down with scurvy on May 20th, and by the 30th several were ill with it.

June 5, 1791

Arrived at Clayoquot

Thick fog and rain kept them distant from the Oregon and Washington coasts where they saw proposes and whales. At latitude 49 degrees 14 minutes north, they first saw land (Vancouver Island) on June 3rd.

The *Columbia Rediviva* entered Coxes Harbor at Clayoquot on June 5, 1791. To recover from scurvey, the first priority of the crew was eating greens, which they found in the uninhabited Indian village, Opitsatah. The next day

a tent was pitched there to house the sick during their recuperation. Seven men had very advanced cases. The unafflicted crew members guarded them day and night.

The *Columbia* commanded by Capt. Gray had taken eight months and five days from Boston, compared to a year minus nine days under Capt. Kendrick.

June 13, 1791

Attoo Ran Away

On June 13th, Jack Attoo (Gray's Hawaiian cabin attendant) ran away to the Indians. Capt. Gray decided to take the first Chief who came along hostage to gain return of the youth. This was Chief Tatoochkasettle, on June 15th. When Attoo was returned, he was flogged and the Chief set free, but the incident had repercussions later.

June 17, 1791

Fur Gathering Cruises

Fur trading with nearby Indians had begun on June 7th, when 22 sea otter skins were acquired for copper and clothing.

Capt. Gray was anxious to begin fur gathering. Rather than build the sloop right away, Capt. Gray decided to use the *Columbia* that summer.

While the men were recovering from scurvy, soup was made from deer purchased from the Indians. The rest of the crew were busy cutting a new jib boom and putting the rigging in order.

The men had recovered from scurvy when Capt. Gray began cruising the coast of Vancouver Island for furs on June 17th. Heading north, they anchored on June 20th in Columbia's Cove, Nasparti Inlet. On June 26th, they sailed southward, crossed the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and on June 29th, reached Chief Tatooch's Island near Cape Flattery. Trading was poor, attributed to the arrival of Chief Tatoochkasettle. So on July 2nd, they headed northward to Washington's Island (Queen Charlotte Islands) where they traded during the rest of July. The principal tribes they

traded with were on Cumshewa Inlet, Masheet (Masset) Sound, and Cloak Bay.

On August 1st, they sailed north into Clarence Strait (vicinity of Ketchikan, Alaska). On the 7th, they were at Ward Cove and the next day at Port Tempest (Tongass Narrows) and on the 10th had moved to the western side of Clarence Strait near the entrance of Kasaan Bay.

August 12, 1791

Three of Crew Murdered

The *Columbia* was anchored in a cove on the east side of Prince of Wales Island, Alaska at 55 degrees 30 minutes according to a letter by Capt. Gray and John Hoskins (in the vicinity of Kasaan Bay). While waiting for wind on the morning of Friday the 12th, Joshua Caswell (second mate), John Folger (boatswain's mate), and Joseph Barnes (seaman) went ashore in a jolly boat to fish, armed with only one musket. A favorable breeze began soon thereafter and Capt. Gray wanted to leave. He fired a six-pounder cannon to signal his intent and got under way, sending a pinnance in charge of Abraham Waters (fourth mate) to pick up the fishermen. Waters returned towing the jolly boat which contained the naked body of Joshua Caswell, stabbed to death in 20 places. Without going ashore, the pinnance crew saw the remains of Joseph Barnes on the beach (stripped of all but his trousers), but nothing of John Folger.

The *Columbia* returned to Port Tempest, arriving in the evening. The next morning three boats went ashore under cover of cannon fire from the ship's guns to bury Joshua Caswell's body. Capt. Gray arrived in a fourth boat at the gravesite and conducted the service. The crew named the locations on Prince of Wales Island: Massacre Cove (vicinity of Kasaan bay) and Murderer's Cape (Cape Chacon).

August 15, 1791

Possible Retaliation

In Clarence Strait on August 15th, at 55 degrees north, 30 miles from Port Tempest (east side) and 18 miles from Massacre Cove (west side), the *Columbia* met the *Hancock* of Boston. Capt. Samuel Crowell arrived on July 14th and constructed a long boat on Hancock's River (Masset Inlet), Queen Charlotte Islands. When Indians appeared and blocked its launching, Capt. Crowell's men fired on them. Four Indians were killed and others were wounded. Robert Haswell believed the murders of Caswell, Barnes, and Folger could have been revenge. At the time, he did not know that Capt. Kendrick had had an encounter with natives of the islands on June 16th, killing and injuring many of them.

August 15 & 22, 1791

Letters Sent Home

Capt. Gray and John Hoskins took opportunities to send letters to Joseph Barrell via Capt. Crowell on August 15th, and via Capt. Joseph Ingraham of the brig *Hope* on August 22nd. (Capt. Ingraham had been chief mate on the *Columbia's* first voyage.) Each letter said they had arrived safely on the coast, but that natives had murdered Caswell, Barnes and Folger. They intended to build the sloop at winter quarters for the next season.

August 29, 1791

Return to Clayoquot

Capt. Kendrick There

The *Columbia* departed from the Queen Charlotte Islands on August 23rd. It arrived at Port Cox in Clayoquot Sound on August 29th, where they found Capt. Kendrick and the *Lady Washington*, which had been converted to a brig. Hoskins learned that Capt. Kendrick had left Larks Bay, China in March with Capt. Douglas and the *Grace* of New York, and together they had sailed to Kyushu, Japan, perhaps the first American vessels to

visit there. Kendrick had arrived at the Queen Charlotte Islands on June 13th. John Boit said he was sorry to learn that Capt. Kendrick had made no remittances to the owners in Boston.

Capt. Kendrick told how, on June 16th, Indians had swarmed aboard the *Lady Washington* and attacked them when they were in Barrell's Sound (Houston Stewart Channel, Queen Charlotte Islands). In repelling the attack an estimated 60 natives had been killed. *The Ballad of the Bold Northwestman* was composed about that encounter.

Summer, 1791

Kendrick Purchased Land

Capt. Kendrick said he afterward traded in Nootka Sound at Macquinnah's, then up the Tasshee River (Tahsis Canal), and out at Ahataset Sound (Esperanza Inlet). Then he came to Clayoquot Sound to trade. In addition to trading with the Indians for furs, he "purchased" their lands. For title to the real estate he obtained "signed" deeds which he later registered in Macao, China. Example: Chief Macquinnah's tribe sold their harbor and nine miles of land surrounding it to Capt. Kendrick for ten muskets on July 20, 1791.

September 20, 1791

Winter Quarters

After additional trading at Tatoosh Island, Capt. Gray returned on September 18th to Port Cox in Clayoquot Sound. He looked for a suitable place to build the sloop for gathering furs the next season using the frame that had been brought from Boston. He selected a cove at 49 degrees 15 minutes west longitude (about 17 miles from the ocean). Here on September 20th they moored the ship for the winter and called the place Adventure Cove. This was three miles past the Indian village of Opitsatah (Opitsat).

Capt. Kendrick, on the *Lady Washington*, departed with his cargo of

furs (and deeds to land) for China on September 29th.

The keel was laid for the sloop *Adventure* on October 3rd. This name was selected by Capt. Gray instead of Nootka.

Christmas, 1791

Three days before Christmas, Capt. Gray visited Chief Yethlan (Yeklan) who was very ill with a fever (likely the flu), and took him some gruel. On Christmas Day, the principal chiefs were invited to dine on board the *Columbia* and toured the work shops on shore where the sloop and its boat were under construction. Twenty geese were roasted for that occasion, and spruce bows were used for decorations.

On December 31st, Capt. Gray and John Hoskins visited the sick Chief Yethlan, who had improved, and he was permitted to stay on board the *Columbia* during the remainder of his recovery. [During the next months, Capt. Gray and members of the crew came down with the sickness. All recovered except the boatswain.]

January 18, 1792

Attempted Massacre

On January 17th, Boit witnessed a ceremony in which old Chief Wickananish gave his name to his eldest son Hyyoua and took his son's name for himself (his son became the new Chief Wickananish).

On January 18th, one of the chiefs was noticed being too friendly with Jack Attoo, the Hawaiian youth. That evening Attoo confessed to Capt. Gray: that Chief Tatoochkasettle had told him that (the new) Chief Wickananish was about to take the ship and massacre the crew. Tatoochkasettle had promised to spare Attoo and make him a great chief, if he would wet all the crew's muskets, and steal some powder and ball for him. As a result of learning the plan, Capt. Gray and his crew were prepared and successfully thwarted the attack, which occurred after midnight. Benjamin Harden, the boatswain, was very sick

but armed himself with a pair of pistols laid alongside of him. The crew thereafter called their temporary habitation "Fort Defiance."

About noon on January 20th, the father (old Chief Wickananish) appeared with his sons, the new Chief Wickananish and Chief Tatoochkasettle, in an effort to be friendly. But trust between the parties was gone: Capt. Gray ordered them to depart and never return on pain of death. After this, none of the males visited Adventure Cove, but a few women and girls brought berries and fish.

John Boit commented: "We find them to be still a savage tribe, and only waiting an opportunity for to massacre the whole of us in cold blood." (This was prophetic as to the fate of the *Tonquin's* crew during the summer of 1811.)

February 22, 1792

Adventure Launched

At noon on February 22nd, the 50 ton sloop *Adventure* was launched and hauled alongside the *Columbia*, which fired a salute with three cheers. Both vessels were prepared for sailing. On March 4th. the *Columbia* was rigged, its hold stowed and ready for sea. The crew began rigging the *Adventure* on March 16th. Provisions and part of her cargo were loaded two days later.

March 21, 1792

Boatswain Died

Benjamin Harden, age 31, died on March 21st from his illness, the result of untreatable diarrhea. His body was interred on shore at "Fort Defiance," with a service the following day.

John Emmes became boatswain. Nathan Noelle (carpenter's mate) and Nathaniel Woodward (caulker) were still on the sick list.

March 24, 1792

Adventure Crew

The sloop was ready for sea by March 24th. On that day, Robert Haswell was placed in command of the *Adventure*, assisted by Abraham Waters

and eight other men.

March 27, 1792

Opitsatah Village Destroyed

An opportunity arose for Capt. Gray to revenge the attempted ambush in January. The Indian village Opitsatah was found deserted (at the time the natives were at Echachis on Wakenneish Island). On orders given by Capt. Gray, John Boit was sent on March 27, 1792 with three boats to destroy Opitsatah, which was about half mile in diameter and contained 200 houses decorated with native wood carvings. Boit recorded: "This fine village, the work of ages, was in a short time totally destroyed." (Presumably, it was burned.)

April 2, 1792

Vessels Depart Clayoquot

Death had claimed four of the crew, leaving 27 men on the vessels, which departed on April 2nd from Clayoquot Sound.

Aboard the *Adventure*, Robert Haswell and a crew of nine headed northward. The events of this fur-gathering voyage were recorded in Haswell's Second Log until September 28, 1792.

The *Columbia Rediviva*, Capt. Robert Gray, and a crew of 16 headed south along the Washington and Oregon coasts, and reached near Cape Foulweather, Oregon on April 3rd. Enroute, Boit noticed sandy shores with much clear land fit for cultivation. On the 9th they were off the Alsea River (and present-day Bayview, Oregon) and on the 10th stopped off the Umpqua River where they traded copper and iron for otter skins. On April 11th, Capt. Gray reached nearly to Cape Blanco on the Oregon coast, when he turned northward and on April 17th they were off present-day Lincoln City.

On April 22nd, off Willapa Harbor on the Washington coast, Boit commented that they had just past good harbors (which included the mouth of the *Columbia*), but squally weather

hindered examining them.

April 28, 1792

Met with Capt. Vancouver

While anchored near Destruction Island off the coast of Washington, Captain Gray talked with Capt. George Vancouver and Lt. William Broughton on the British ships *Discovery* and *Chatham*. The Americans told Vancouver of standing off two capes at the mouth of a large river to the south, waiting for an opportunity to explore it. Capt. Vancouver responded he did not consider that opening worthy of attention because the surf line extended between the two capes. The next day, Capt. Gray passed Tatooch Isle and entered the straits of Juan DeFuca, where many Indians canoed to the ship and traded furs.

May 1, 1792

Trading Along Coast

On May 1st, they were back anchored once again off an Indian village near Teakwhit Head southeast of the mouth of the Quillayute River on the coast of Washington, where they had been on April 27th. Then they sailed back to the Straits during threatening weather until they were able to head back south on May 5th.

May 7, 1792

Gray's Harbor Discovered

On May 7th, Capt. Gray entered the harbor named after him and was met by a large number of Indians in canoes from whom they purchased many furs and fish.

May 8, 1792

Canoe of Indians Killed

When the official ship's log from May 7th through May 20th was extracted for President James Madison in 1816, the dates of May 8th, 9th and 10th were skipped over, but are preserved in John Boit's Log.

On May 8th, many more furs were purchased for blankets and iron. That moonlit evening the crew heard the hooting of Indians, and about midnight canoes began approaching the ship. A

large canoe with at least 20 men came too near, so Capt. Gray fired on it with a nine-pound cannon plus ten muskets loaded with buckshot. The canoe was dashed to pieces and all occupants killed.

On May 9th and 10th, trading for otter, beaver, and salmon resumed and the Indians showed much interest in the cannon which had destroyed their canoe.

On May 10th as they left the harbor, which Boit recorded, they "named the harbor we had left after our Captain," cleared the bar, and headed south.

May 11, 1792

Discovery of Columbia River

According to the official log of the *Columbia Rediviva* on May 11th, 1792, Capt. Gray must have known what he was looking for, because he saw the river's entrance from 18 miles (six leagues) away. Gray was determined to enter the harbor and trade for furs. The weather, wind, and tide were right, and what follows is the record of that historical day 200 years ago:

"At 4 a.m., saw the entrance of our desired port bearing east-south-east, distance six leagues [18 miles]; in steering sails, and hauled our wind in shore. At eight a.m., being a little to windward of the entrance of the harbor, bore away, and run in east-north-east between the breakers, having from five to seven fathoms of water [30 to 35 ft. deep]. When we were over the bar, we found this to be a large river of fresh water, up which we steered. Many canoes came alongside. At one p.m., came to with the small bower in ten fathoms [60ft.], black and white sand. The entrance between the bars bore west- south-west, distant ten miles; the south side of the same two and a half miles distance; a village on the north side of the river west by north, distant three quarters of a mile. Vast numbers of natives came alongside; people employed in pumping the salt water out

of our watercasks, in order to fill with fresh, while the ship floated in. So ends."

John Boit recorded the *Columbia Rediviva* entered the river cautiously with short sail, following a crew in the pinnance who led the way across the bar:

"N. Lat., 46 degrees, 7 minutes, W. Long. 122 degrees, 47 minutes. This day saw an appearance of a spacious harbor abreast the ship, hauled out wind for it, observed two sand bars making off, with passage between them to a fine river. Out pinnance and sent her in ahead and followed with the ship under short sail, carried in from three 1/2 to seven fathoms (18 to 35 ft), and when over the bar had 10 fathoms [60 ft] water, quite fresh. The river extended to the NE as far as eye could reach, and water fit to drink as far down as the bars, at the entrance. We directed our course up this noble river in search of a village. The beach was lined with natives, who ran along shore following the ship. Soon after about 20 canoes came off, and brought a good lot of furs and salmon, which last they sold two for a board nail. The furs we likewise bought cheap, for copper and cloth ... At length we arrived opposite to a large village, situated on the north side of the river about 5 leagues [15 miles] from the entrance, came too in 10 fathoms [60 ft] sand, about 1/4 mile from shore. The river at this place was about 4 miles over."

May 14, 1792

Sailed Upriver

By 4 p.m. the *Columbia* had sailed 12 to 15 miles up the north side of the river when the channel narrowed and the ship grounded, but came off without any assistance (probably because of high tide). Captain Gray surmised they had taken the wrong channel.

May 15, 1792

Gray Went Ashore

On the afternoon of May 15th, Captain Gray and John Hoskins went

ashore [on the north side] and took a short view of the country. John Boit recorded that he landed with Capt. Gray to view the county, "and take possession" (that phrase was inserted later in a quite different ink).

On the 17th the ship's log recorded that the crew were busy calking the pinnance, paying the ship's sides with tar, and painting the ship.

May 19, 1792

River and Capes Named

The ship's log on this day records that:

"Captain Gray gave this river the name of Columbia's River, and the north side of the entrance Cape Hancock (Cape Disappointment), the south, Adams's Point (Point Adams). Boit's log gives the naming on May 18th, and added his opinion that "this river would be a fine place to set up a factory." (The word "factory" then referred to a fur trading post, of which the man in charge was called the "chief factor." These were prophetic words: the first fur trading post, Astoria, was established here in the spring of 1811.)

Columbia's River was named for Captain Gray's ship, the *Columbia Rediviva* (Columbia Revived), which in turn was named after Christopher Columbus who discovered the New World in 1492. The names Columbia and America are poetically synonymous, and in this sense Capt. Gray poetically named and claimed it as "America's River."

Cape Hancock was named after John Hancock, but the name John Mears gave to it in 1788 still remains for that location, Cape Disappointment. (But the name Mears gave Deception Bay was changed in October, 1792 when Lt. William Robert Broughton visited the Columbia River aboard the *Jenny*. Broughton renamed it Baker's Bay after *Jenny's* master, Captain James Baker.)

Adam's Point was named for John Adams, the words afterward reversed to

Point Adams as it remains today.

May 20, 1792

Left the River

At 2:45 p.m. on May 20th, the *Columbia Rediviva* began crossing the bar and by 5 p.m. was out in 20 fathoms of water. Captain Gray headed north to rendezvous with the sloop *Adventure* at Columbia's Cove. Gray passed Cape Flattery and the entrance to Juan De Fuca on May 22nd, Clayoquot Harbor on May 23rd, and Woody Point on May 24th. On May 25th, they anchored in a snug cove in sight of Woody's Point, which they named St. Patrick's Harbor.

May 29, 1792

Indians Killed at Columbia's Cove

Gray moved to Columbia's Cove, the rendezvous location, on May 28th. At 10 p.m. the next evening, a large number of canoes came into the cove, and soon after, a large war canoe carrying over 25 Indians paddled toward the ship. The *Columbia's* crew shouted at them to stay away, but they kept coming and other canoes were seen following. Therefore, Capt. Gray ordered his crew to fire, which killed or wounded every Indian in the canoe.

On May 30th the *Columbia* left Columbia's Cove, but nailed a sign to a tree with the inscription: "Ship Columbia arriv'd May 28th, sail'd May 30th. BEWARE!" in case Capt. Haswell arrived, he might be on his guard.

June 7, 1792

Trouble at Pintard's Straits

While John Boit's men and the ship's carpenter were ashore after wood and to cut a mizzen topmast, they were rushed upon by over 200 natives. Samuel Yendell (the carpenter) ran, leaving his broad axe behind. Boit's men fired a few muskets over the native's heads, which checked their advances. When some got near enough to throw their spears, the men fired their muskets and killed some of the Indians.

June 17, 1792

Rendezvous

Both vessels, the *Adventure* and

Columbia, rendezvoused on this day.

June 27, 1792

***Columbia* Damaged**

The *Columbia* sustained damage when it struck a rock on this date. She made harbor near Woody Point and was repaired temporarily. Next, Gray sailed to St. Lorenzo, Nootka Sound where they arrived on July 23rd. Permanent repairs were accomplished by the assistance of the Spanish Governor, Commandante Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra. The repairs were completed by August 21, 1792, and it was ready to take the furs to China. Before leaving for China, Captain Gray sold the sloop *Adventure* to the Governor for a modest price (75 sea otter pelts), in appreciation for his help and kindness.

December, 1792

Macao, China

When the *Columbia* arrived at Macao, they found a depressed fur market. However, they sold the furs and purchased a cargo of tea, nankeen, sugar, and china.

July 25, 1793

Arrived Home at Boston

At 7 p.m. on July 25, 1793, the *Columbia Rediviva* anchored off the Long Wharf at Boston and saluted the town with eleven guns which was returned from the wharves with three welcome "huzzas." Except for the six short weeks at home between the two voyages, Capt. Gray (and the few men who had accompanied him on the first voyage) had been away for a total of nearly six years.

Captain Gray's Last Years

Captain Robert Gray never again visited the Pacific Northwest. He became master of coasting vessels out of Boston. In 1798, Gray began an ill-fated voyage to the Northwest. He was captured by the French, his vessel seized, and he was held prisoner in Montevideo, South America. After his escape in 1799, he was listed as the Captain of the privateer *Lucy*. He

returned to the merchant service on voyages to the southern states and to England.

Captain Robert Gray and Martha Howland Atkins were married on February 13, 1794 in Boston, and a son, Robert John Don Quadra Gray was born to the Grays. Their son was named after Captain Gray's friend who was the Spanish Governor of Nootka, Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega Quadra. Captain Gray left no heirs with the Gray surname, because his son died in 1801 at the age of six years.

The exact date and circumstance of Captain Gray's death remain unknown despite expert inquiry. According to

Martha Gray's petition to Congress for a pension on January 17, 1846, her husband "died in the summer of 1806, leaving four daughters and very little property." It is known that Captain Gray's vessel was recorded at Charlestown, South Carolina during the summer of 1806, the year of the yellow fever epidemic. Possibly he died of yellow fever during an 1806 voyage and was buried at sea, since no burial site has ever been found. Other petitions were introduced on behalf of Martha Gray on April 26, 1848 and August 11, 1852, but the government never authorized her requested pension.



The mouth of the Columbia River with a sailing ship in view.

Photo by Edward St. Mitchell, Publisher, San Francisco

The Great Capt. Robert Gray Memorial Celebration of 1933

Roger T. Tetlow

Today, no one can remember whose idea it was to hold a 141st anniversary celebration on May 11, 1933, to commemorate the exploration of the Columbia River by Capt. Robert Gray. It may have been an officer of the Chinook Historical Society, a member of the Long Beach Order of Redmen, or perhaps even the secretary of the Astoria Chamber of Commerce. But certainly, its purpose was to take advantage of the crowds of people going to Astoria to visit the U.S. frigate *Constitution*, then on exhibit at the Port of Astoria's Pier Two.

After all, historical celebrations are usually held on a centennial or bi-centennial date; fifty, a hundred, or eventually two hundred years after the event, but not on an odd date such as this. Capt. Robert Gray entered the Columbia River on May 11, 1792 so the logical years to hold celebrations would be in 1892 and again in 1992, but certainly not in 1933.

And yet, the celebration was held and, according to the newspaper accounts, was a tremendous success, due primarily to the presence of "Old Ironsides" at Astoria. People came to see that historic artifact and, as long as they were in the area, crossed the river to watch a re-enactment of Capt. Gray's landing at Old Chinook in 1792.

The Chinook Historical Society appointed a special Capt. Robert Gray Memorial Committee to plan the event and this committee, realizing that cooperation from the City of Astoria

would be necessary, got together with members of the Astoria Chamber of Commerce to iron out the necessary details. Gus Hafenbrack, secretary of the Astoria organization, and Henry Jensen of Chinook took charge of the memorial committee.

The fund-raising kickoff event was a novelty dance held at the Long Beach Pavilion on May 3rd and included specialty numbers, many of which were furnished by the Astoria Chamber of Commerce. The funds earned by this event were used to defray some of the expenses of the event.

It was decided to hold a pageant on the afternoon of May 11 depicting the arrival of Capt. Gray at Chinook and later a dinner at the Chinook school gymnasium. The Independent Order of Red Men of Long Beach and its auxiliary lodge, the Ladies of Pocohontas, agreed to provide the "Indians" and the Indian village.

But Commander Louis Gulliver, in charge of the U.S. frigate *Constitution*, refused to allow either his ship or his men to be used to depict Gray's ship *Columbia Rediviva* and its crew. He did agree, however, to attend the celebration in person and to give a short talk.

Arrangements were made with the Astoria-North Beach Ferry Co. to transport the guests from Astoria to Megler and back to Oregon at special round trip rates of 35 cents per person and \$1.35 per car and driver. Various dignitaries invited from both Oregon and Washington were to be transported



The U.S.S. Constitution, "Old Ironsides," visit to Astoria, 1933.

(CCHS photo #284-349)

across the river on the Coast Guard cutter *Redwing*.

The biggest problem that the committee faced was finding a ship to take the place of the *Columbia Rediviva*. After checking out several possibilities, the committee settled on using the Port of Astoria's tender, *B.F. Stone*. Two additional temporary masts were placed on the tender to make it look as much like the *Columbia* as possible. The resemblance turned out to be rather vague, but it was the best that they could do under the circumstances. At a distance, the *B.F. Stone* did look somewhat like a sailing ship to someone with a vivid imagination.

The Capt. Robert Gray memorial celebration began at 2 p.m. on May 11, 1933, when the *B.F. Stone* dropped anchor off Pt. Ellice. At the same time, a flotilla of canoes and boats manned by a bevy of painted and feathered members of the Long Beach and Chinook lodges of Redmen paddled out to the ship to greet Capt. Gray.

Gus Hafenbrach, secretary of the Astoria Chamber of Commerce, playing the part of Capt. Gray and Wendell Brackett of Montesano, dressed as Gray's mate, joined them in the ship's

boat. The entire flotilla made its way to shore where an audience, estimated at over a thousand, awaited their arrival.

When they reached the shore, Chief Comcomly, impersonated by Henry Jensen, sachem of the Chinook lodge of Redmen, and Winnie Sagren, playing the chief's daughter, Princess Mary, met them and escorted the party to the Indian village built in a grassy field nearby. Here, Gray presented a necklace to Princess Mary who asked permission from Chief Comcomly to accept the gift. After some hesitation, permission was given, and the necklace was placed around the neck of the Princess as shouts of approval came from the scores of pseudo-Indians at the scene.

The Indian village had been built by members of the two lodges of Redmen and consisted of a dozen or so teepees scattered here and there on the field. All available members of the Redmen and the Ladies of Pocohontas had been recruited to don their lodge Indian regalia and participate as members of the Chinook tribe. Some were busy fishing while others were hunting nearby. The women busied themselves around the village tending

fires and cooking. There were even a few children to add to the atmosphere.

After the necklace presentation, Gray and his party were escorted to the center of the village where a peace pipe was smoked and a fresh salmon was given to Capt. Robert Gray as a token of the Indians' friendship. Gray then advanced with upraised hand and parlayed with the Indians about trade in furs. He presented strands of beads to the many eager Indian maidens who flocked around him.

And then, surrounded by members of the party, Franz Johnson of Chinook, chairman of the day, mounted a stump and announced a speaking program. It began with George Johnson of Ocean Park, who gave an instructive account of the historical incidents of the particular place at which the ceremonies were held. His speech contained the following quotations:

"The Captain Robert Gray Memorial Association is a serious minded body. They believe that the planting of the Stars and Stripes by Capt. Robert Gray on May 11, 1792, upon the very land, the very spot, upon which you now stand was an event of so momentous importance to a then young and struggling republic in its swaddling clothes, that it shall not perish, but must and will be historified for posterity.

"It was by this same stream Capt. Gray tells you that he filled his caskets.

"And it was by this same stream Lewis and Clark pitched their camp and remained ten days . . . It is the same stream where Chief Comcomly was wont to come at eventide to commune with the great spirit in behalf of his people while the doe and the fawn and

the dove in the wild wood silently stopped to drink at a place where the hills come down to meet the sea."

At the conclusion of Johnson's address, the American flag was raised atop a pole which had been recently erected as a first step in making Old Chinook Town an historical memorial park.

A number of other notables were



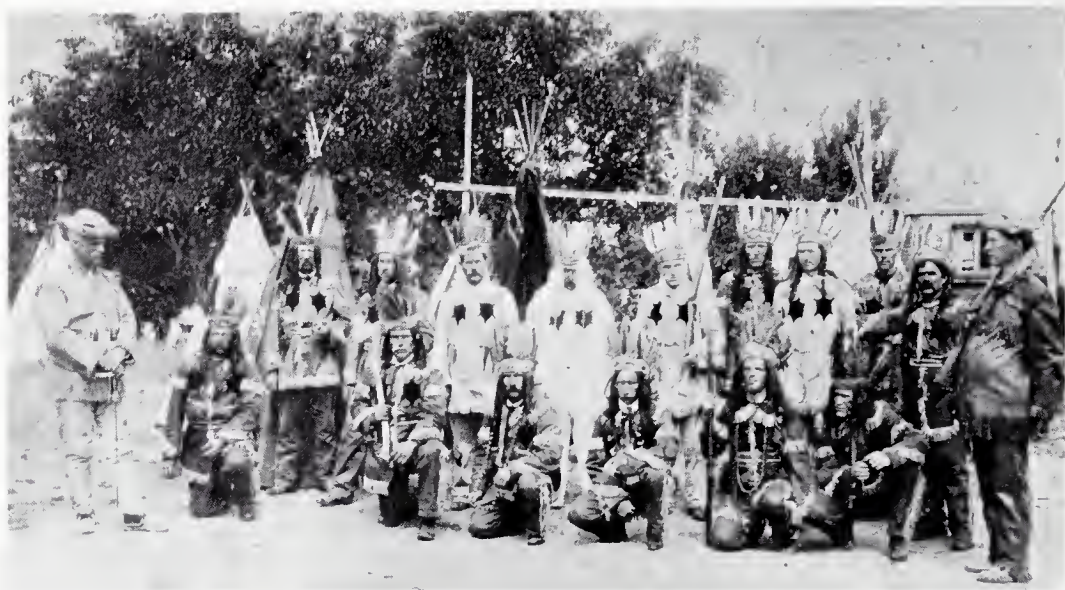
The Megler, Washington ferry landing.

(CCHS photo #6782-344A)

introduced including W.P. Bonney of the Washington Historical Society, George H. Himes of the Oregon Historical Society and Senator Fred Norman. Many of these dignitaries made brief addresses.

While the speeches were being given, the spectators wandered about looking at the teepees and the Indian village. They also visited the graveyard nearby in which it is said Chief Comcomly and many of his tribal members were buried. They also visited the Lewis and Clark camp site. For the benefit of those who had not brought a picnic basket, a hot lunch stand on the premises provided refreshments. The Chinook high school band supplemented the program with a medley of patriotic music.

The celebration was continued later that evening at 7 p.m. in the Chinook school gymnasium where the ladies of



Chinook, Washington Independent Order of Red Men, 1910.

Photograph courtesy of the Ilwaco Heritage Museum

Chinook put on a banquet which was attended by several hundred people. Art Strand of Seaview served as toastmaster of this event, while John Durkee of Chinook gave the welcoming address.

The assembled crowd was entertained first with a talent show led off by Orval Port who sang "A Birthday," accompanied by Dr. Sargent. Mr. Healey gave a whistling solo "My Little Gypsy Sweetheart," and Maurice Olin sang "Old Man River." Geneva Joy sang "Joy" with Mrs. Harder at the piano. The Kiwanis male quartet rendered "Over the Ocean Blue" accompanied by Mrs. Davis. Dan Hall of Rosburg sang "The Hills of Home." John Langenback recited an original poem on the exploits of Capt. Gray, followed by B.F. Irvine of the Oregon Journal, who made an inspiring short talk to which everyone listened "spellbound by his vision and eloquence of speech," as the *Tribune* said later. The big feature of the evening was a talk by Governor Clarence Martin of Washington who "impressed everyone as a man of splendid character and high ideals."

Everyone agreed later that the Capt. Robert Gray Memorial Celebration had been a tremendous success and that it should be repeated at regular intervals to keep the memory of Capt. Gray's exploration of the Columbia River fresh in the minds of the people of the Northwest.

Later, however, a letter was published in the *Chinook Observer* which criticized some aspects of the celebration. The writer pointed out that the Chinook Indians did not live in teepees, but rather in huts built from cedar planks; that they did not paint their faces or bodies; and did not wear feathered headresses. The writer went on to say that if the Indians of the Chinook tribe had to be impersonated, it should have been done accurately.

Even though the criticism was justified, most folks on both sides of the Columbia River ignored it and agreed that the Capt. Robert Gray Memorial Celebration had been a splendid success, a credit to Old Chinook and to all the other individuals and groups participating.

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